

The Labour Organiser

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ELECTION PREPARATION SERIES

HOW TO PRESENT POLICY

If a vote could be taken among defeated candidates of all Parties as to the cause of their rejection, we should find that misrepresentation of their policy by opponents would stand high in the list of excuses. Certainly Labour candidates have suffered intensely in the past from this reason.

The fact that electors so often pass judgment in ignorance, and upon distorted facts and theories, is itself a grave threat to Democracy. And yet what text-book has ever given attention to the presentation of policy and advice to its readers on how to put their case so that Truth may triumph or at least that it shall be clear to the electors?

Electioneers with an eye to early victory all tend to take those courses and employ those methods, which "influence" electors rather than educate them. Stunts, scares, headlines, eloquence, election fever, falsehood, prejudice, religious hatred, and false patriotism, all have played their part in the drama when "Democracy speaks"; and the mind of the sober elector finds little solace or sense in the charges and counter-charges, the challenges and the clap-trap of the rivals.

To Labour belongs the credit of having consistently, from its earliest days, made the education of the electors in its policy a definite function of its election machine. The Labour "vote"

is, in fact, the most politically educated portion of the electorate: yet even we are far from securing that the mass of the voters know and can clearly judge upon the plan and proposals we put before them.

Don't be on Defensive

Not all the confusion is due to the machinations of the enemy. Badly presented policy, insufficiently presented policy, concealment or partial concealment (intentional or otherwise) of the effects of a policy, all adversely affect us. Be sure that the unpopular or damaging points of Labour's policy will be fully brought out by opponents; and though a diversion or attack on the other side may equalise the effect in votes secured, Labour's ultimate success must depend upon the understanding of its case, the whole case, and nothing but the case. It is mistaken electioneering tactics to be forced to the defensive, but it is equally mistaken to gloss over weak points, or ignore them altogether.

How is Policy normally presented to the electors? For in this article we put forward no new suggestions for getting at the mind of the people; rather we prefer to examine and make suggestions upon existing methods, seeing that to-day electioneers appeal to every one of the senses of mankind,

except perhaps his sense of smell (and we eschew stink-bombs).

Print, speech and spectacle (in that order) are terms which cover every legitimate form of educating the electorate.

The printed word comes first in this age of education, and as this article is not intended to cover all-the-year-round methods of getting Policy "across," we will begin with the Election Address.

The Statement

The Address is, or should be, the candidate's prime appeal to the electors, his main statement of policy, even if only in outline, and the basis on which he puts forward his claim to votes.

The Address therefore in a Parliamentary election cannot be too brief, nor on the other hand should it be packed with personal detail (for which there is a place elsewhere), argument, or flamboyant verbiage. Addresses which smack of the cut of the Three Tailors of Tooley Street excite derision or mild contempt, particularly when the candidate holds no special place in the public eye.

Election addresses should consist of terse policy statements and be comprehensive enough to embrace the main points of domestic and foreign policy (note that transposition of the usual placings of these terms), and to give the Party's proposals and attitude to current affairs. An harangue or argument is out of place; the opportunity to argue is at meetings or when visiting electors, and the supplementary matter, i.e., the spare space on the document, should explain this, and extend invitations to the list of meetings given, as it should also contain, in suitable form, personal particulars of the candidate.

We are profoundly of opinion that the day of the individual election address has gone by. Whose policy is it that is put forward? Certainly not the candidate's own. If it is the Party's then why 500 differently-expressed documents with all the risk of omission, bad expression and doubtful exposition?

We are all for standardisation, for a common statement of policy—election addresses which put forward everywhere the same policy in the same clear way. That of itself would create

a nation-wide interest and nation-wide education. But in such case our remarks as to terseness with completeness—of statement and fact rather than argument—would apply elsewhere than to the readers of this journal.

The get-up of the election address, though an important matter in its appeal, and although really part and parcel of the art of getting policy over, is something to be dealt with later in our article on Literature. We have indicated that the document should contain personal matter, invitations to and lists of meetings; there is also the photograph, not as a part of "getting the policy over," but of getting the candidate over—which may or may not be a harder thing!

Just one word though as to all literature. Beauty is an ideal and an idyll of Socialists and Socialism. Oh, for a William Morris for our times! Beauty appeals to youth, maybe to us all. Socialist trappings therefore should cultivate art, not overdone, and simple beauty. That is part of the art of presenting policy!

The Enlargement

Supplementary to the election address is the Election News Sheet. But to every one which is well planned, well balanced, and which really supplements the election address with well-stated fact and interesting comment, there comes a host of others whose only object appears to be to get rid of money or find work for lazy helpers! And they are not read.

Here, if anywhere, there ought to be standardisation. How can one expect the election agent burning the midnight oil to turn out facts from his memory or jests from his jaded soul?

We presume that "Your Britain" in suitable form will partly fill the bill at the next election and satisfy most of our criticism. It did well at the Municipal Elections, and it gets policy over. Still the local sheet will die hard. A form of standardisation is desirable, giving room for local matter.

We digress here to talk of pictures. "Your Britain's" illustrations have been wonderful. Pictures play a vital part in the presentation of policy. The public like pictures. They hate long articles, and epistles. Indeed, the problem to-day is to condense into sufficiently few words the policy we

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expound. Pictures are to prose what shorthand is to longhand. They condense without the distortion which the use of insufficient words may create.

We are then all for picture papers as a means of expounding policy. And this implies that as candidates cannot afford both "Your Britain" and their own mouthpiece, many local election sheets must go. Until some generally-adopted standardised sheet, adaptable with local pages, appears, we shall not greatly regret their disappearance. Time marches on; and if pictures tell the tale, why waste money on ill-got-up sheets that the electors don't read?

The Argument

An election sheet, pictures or prose, must be pithy. Just as an election address must state **policy** and **proposals**, these things contain **facts**. The argument must be incited in the reader's mind. It is he who is asked to reason and he is prompted to reason. Again argument, or at any rate, argumentative articles are unwise. The argument will be heard at meetings, etc., as indicated above.

But there is another place for argument and that is in the pamphlets issued by the Party. Electioneers should by every means in their power try to induce electors to buy Party pamphlets, **because they contain a fuller exposition of policy and the answers to queries and doubts.**

How often is the pamphlet aid to "getting policy over" utterly neglected at an election? Yet the man who buys a pamphlet to satisfy a doubt counts among one's assets; he is the reward of one's work; of him, and such as he, we make majorities. The Party pamphlet is a mighty election weapon, not sufficiently used, and every pamphlet sold means that Policy is gaining ground.

Warning. Party policy covers a wide range and so do Party pamphlets. It is foolish not to discriminate when selling at elections. We have never loved the generous fare which is provided on some bookstalls for the innocent and the unwary. Buying the wrong literature has killed off many a raw recruit, who believes that all literature he sees for sale is explanatory of Party policy.

Discretion, therefore, in the sale of literature at elections is essential. We

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shall get Policy "over" better if literature is selected for its uses, if workers themselves know what is inside the pamphlets, and if one's object is not so much to sell, as to tell the right thing to the right person.

Of leaflets we can only say that so many are just seed scattered by the wayside or sown on stony ground that we do not count much on them as vehicles of policy. A leaflet to be effective must be specially attractive, virile and to a point, preferably one point. The leaflet has its place, but it is as a barb, i.e., an answer, a sharp attack, the medium for a telling fact.

The same applies to posters. Posters do not expound policy except in so far as they fulfil the function mentioned in the last paragraph. "Vote fors" are an abhorrence to us. They are not original, they appeal to no impulse based on reason, and they are so much wasted opportunity.

Remember we are discussing here the ways of getting Policy over, not the relative merits of alternative election devices. But leaflets and posters can always be made more effective, more readable, and be converted into

vehicles of policy by means of the "tag."

Personally we have not for years issued any sort of handbill without a tag. Tags are like the story on the match-box or the motto in the Christmas cracker. They get read first and they are always intended as a spot of propaganda. A brief fact is mostly sufficient—and haven't we thousands to support the Socialist case? Meetings bills are served the same. But avoid as the plague time-worn injunctions, meaningless slogans, and false "facts."

And now we will examine the platform as a means of propaganda. Here it is not our aim to discuss how to run meetings. We want to see how best to use them as means for expounding and spreading our policy.

Before we come to the speeches let us remark on the amount of lost opportunity there seems to be connected with meetings. Lost opportunity—because of those who don't attend; lost opportunity through the failure to follow up those who do attend; lost opportunity in advertising a meeting, and of adorning outside and inside with suitable matter; lost opportunity in answering questions and connecting them with literature; and lost opportunity to sell policy (i.e., pamphlets) at the meeting itself; plus lost opportunity to make members.

Some of these things we shall discuss in our coming article on organising meetings. But does not the sum total of lost opportunity detract immensely from the value we might get from meetings in the matter of spreading policy?

And now to the speeches.

(To be concluded next month.)



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THE LABOUR PARTY AT WORK

All Departments Busy

The Labour Party Headquarters continues to work at full pressure. One wonders how many people realise that what now seems usual in the way of Headquarters output more than equals the high-pressure activity of General Elections not so long ago.

This applies particularly to the Organisation Department, though the Literature Department has for long been running at full pressure. Organisation, of course, embraces the Propaganda Department, the League of Youth Department and others.

The League of Youth Department is a particularly active unit these days. And Youth is moving. Over 100 League of Youth branches have been formed in the current half year.

Over 600,000 copies of the last edition of "Your Britain" were sold. This is a gratifying figure, though normally the sale of a million copies for each issue of "Your Britain" ought to be possible.

"Persistent Propaganda is a Key to Power." So says Morgan Phillips, the Propaganda Officer, in a circular to Local Parties covering an offer of the three National Propagandists, Messrs. Haycock, Simmons and Willey, have, as so many know, rendered yeoman service to the Party on every battlefield. Parties ought not to turn down offers of services merely because the date offered is not the most convenient. National considerations, such as by-election services, saving in railway fares, affect dates in a way which is not always apparent, and Local Parties should endeavour to fall in with the convenience of others.

National Headquarters again draws attention to the arrangement made with the Performing Rights Society enabling Parties to use gramophone records under licence for a special annual fee of one guinea. Those who use records

without availing themselves of this facility run considerable risk. The terms are a concession, and the liberty and freedom from trouble are worth the money.

Labour's recent Manifesto has been published in two forms. It is obtainable in quarto leaflet form at the price of 6s. 6d. per 1,000, or in penny pamphlet form under the title of "Labour's Claim to Government." This policy statement, to which the National Executive Committee attach great importance, is therefore available in handy form for either general distribution or specific sale. It is obvious that a huge circulation is desired.

"Labour's Policy for the Schools" is a timely 1d. pamphlet—timely because it coincides with an economy threat to education, and because it is a relief to turn to domestic policy and to see it stated amid so much literature devoted to international affairs. The policy outlined is, of course, not a new one, and was laid down so far back as October, 1934. Revision has been necessitated by legislation and other changes since then.

The Labour Party Diary, a copy of which is in our possession, is tip-top value, and every active Labourite will want one. With two days to a page there is ample room for notes, and the reference pages are a condensed encyclopaedia for the Movement. There is a tasteful cover in bright red leatherette. A dozen copies may be had for 10s. 6d. A single copy, post free, costs 1s. 2d. We do not know who is responsible for the selection of quotations for each day, but we have found sheer delight in them.

A new pamphlet to be published next week deals with the full facts of the Czech crisis. As the title indicates, this is 12,000 words of history.

Membership cards for 1939 are now obtainable, and should be ordered early. Next year's cards are to be red for men and yellow for women (red and yellow are an historic Party combination). Parties who have not yet adopted the Party's collectors' books and monthly return forms, might well consider the adoption of this complete method of conducting membership while ordering their new cards. Proper control of collections and of collectors is essential.

The Examinations under the Labour Party's Scheme for Study and Examination have recently been held. It is believed that the standard of qualification displayed by students at the examinations was this year of satisfactory order.

PROPAGANDA BY FILMS

The Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress, with the support of Education Committees of Co-operative Societies, are launching a campaign of propaganda by films. A new organisation has been established to be known as the Workers' Film Association. Offices have been taken at 145, Wardour Street, London, W.1, telephone number Gerrard 3627, and this new Association is setting itself out to make it possible for local organisations, including Branches of the League of Youth, to hire any of the films that are included in the national libraries. They are making a special study of the political films available, and these are being catalogued.

A survey of the country is being undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the details of democratic organisations possessing 16 mm. projectors. When this is completed, they hope to link up the democratic organisations in the various localities with the organisation possessing the projector, so that they may have the means available for showing films which they can hire from the Workers' Film Association.

There is not the slightest doubt but that the film is one of the most powerful mediums of propaganda and education of modern times, and whilst it is found that in some areas only a handful of people attend meetings, large gatherings can be obtained when sound films are shown.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Labour did NOT lose ground in the Municipal Elections. By selecting certain results unfavourable to Labour, most national newspapers published calculations showing big Labour losses.

Only the "Daily Herald" went to the trouble of getting a complete list of results, and as the "Daily Herald" alone showed, Labour lost 116 seats and gained 117—a nett gain of one.

In England and Wales before the elections, Labour controlled 43 towns. Following the elections, it is still in control of 43 towns.

In Scotland there was a nett gain of 12 seats, making a total nett gain of 146 seats in six years, and although control was lost in one town, it was gained in two towns.

But for the "Daily Herald" the country would not have known the truth about these elections.

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Are you
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with

All
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Preparations?

By JACK CUTTER

A glance through our opponents' literature issued during the present series of by-elections brings even more encouragement than the Dartford victory because it so clearly shows their woolly-mindedness, lack of policy and almost complete dependence on wholesale mud-slinging in the hope that enough will stick.

It also indicates their uneasiness. There is an implied apology even in their most emphatic exhortations to "Support Chamberlain and keep the Peace." It looks to me as if the conference of Policy Deciders and Publicity Pushers at Palace Chambers, Westminster, did not have a very happy session when they met to discuss the dope for the byes. One can picture that the majority view was summed up thus:

Their Dithyrambic Drivellings

"Well, Gentlemen, I think we are in the main agreed that the thing to do is to flog this 'Chamberlain the Peacemaker' angle for all it is worth. The news-reels and the 'little man' press have prepared the ground most adroitly (heah, heah) and, if we stick to generalities and give 'em a hero to worship, it should go across big."

But one can imagine, with some supporting evidence, that there were doubts as to whether the hero was big enough for his pedestal. There would be memories that although the fanfaring newsreels were received with applause in West End cinemas and enthusiasm in Birmingham, the rest of the country registered ominous silence, and in quite a number of places open derision. There would be the uncomfortable feeling that, genuflect as they may about the Old Man, the speeches of Churchill, Eden, Cranbourne, Cooper and the rest would do much to debunk their dithyrambic drivellings.

These doubts are reflected in the forced style of their productions. They protest too much. They dwell significantly on the strain of: "After all, what was the alternative?" thereby showing their awareness of a weak case. And they strain their vocabularies for new adjectives of abuse and contumely for their opponents—a never-failing sign of the jitters.

The Blue-eyed Glamour Boy

A month ago, when the P.M. was deciding for or against an immediate General Election, there were many within our own Party who thought that we should come badly out of an immediate struggle which would, they believed, have been a repetition of the 1918 racket, with Chamberlain "coupon" candidates romping home on the crest of an emotional wave. Those who held this view seemed convinced that the vast majority of electors had taken Chamberlain to their hearts. I held the opposite opinion. I could see more evidence of humiliation than of jubilation. I could see our Movement in the right mood for a first-class scrap with the gloves off. I noted division and heart-searching among our opponents, and believed that an immediate appeal to the country would have transformed the House of Commons.

I still believe that so long as the Tory Party stick to their attempt to make a blue-eyed Glamour Boy out of Neville they are doomed to failure. Hang it all, look at their material! Picture to yourself how the public gorge would rise over a surfeit of those childish platitudes of the "when-I-was-a-little-boy" type which Neville seems to think is the proper approach to the masses, and which he would certainly inflict on them throughout the campaign via radio, screen and press.

Their "Labour Means War" stuff is also bad tactics. They persist in using this slogan in one form or another despite repeated demonstrations that it loses them votes. Apparently they have become so accustomed to scaring the British public as an instrument of electioneering policy that they have become careless about the make-up of their bogies. It certainly should be clear to them by now that more than half the electorate don't believe this "Labour Means War" stuff, anyway, and the others, who because of political prejudices would like to believe it, cannot get any further than the feeling that had the Tory Party indulged in a little bit more of Labour's straight talking to the dictators it would have been a good thing for the Tory Party and for the nation—in that order of importance.

Horrific Posters Pending

Yet I am credibly informed that they still regard this shop-soiled line as their best bet, and have drafts of posters (Class H—Horrific) depicting home-steads in smoking ruins, bearing legends such as: "Save yourselves from this—Support Chamberlain!"

Well, let them get on with it. We know all the answers, and I believe our propaganda machine is now revving up with plenty in reserve and is telling the people the answers in no uncertain way. When we add the charges that seven years of Toryism have brought us to the edge of the abyss, that those seven years have been a long story of incompetence, inefficiency and muddle, and that the further they have got away from Labour's policy the nearer the nation has been to war—then we can make that particular bogey of theirs turn into a laughing-stock.

Throw in the weight of our strong Home Policy against their weak one—our case for farming and food supplies, for pensions and social services, for reorganised public services. See to it that our attack is vigorous, and if the Tories adhere to their present pipe-dream that they can persuade the nation to place blind trust in Chamberlain, then I don't care how soon the election comes.

ALWAYS PROVIDING—and here's the whole point of this article—always providing that our movement everywhere realises that well-prepared election machinery is the first essential for

victory. A canvasser in every street is of infinitely more real value than a poster on every hoarding. Propaganda is useless for electioneering purposes without machinery to reap its benefits. The presence in a ward or village of a committee room which, on the eve of poll has a record of every Labour promise and a machine to poll them the next day, is worth a dozen mass demonstrations in that ward or village—and a darned sight cheaper.

Don't Stand Arguing

There are welcome signs that the Party generally is getting to work. Elsewhere in this issue it is shown that East Walthamstow, for instance, places election preparation as an ordinary part of routine business and reports progress month by month. There are many Divisions which do the same. Agency problems are being faced up to all over the country, and quite a number of D.L.P.s, knowing that the election will probably be fought on the present register, are writing up their envelopes. One D.L.P. has booked all its committee rooms in readiness, and fighting funds are springing up all over the place.

There are still some Parties, however, which have yet to move. Quite a number still waste valuable time in their General Committees arguing about policy details, and do not spend even ten minutes on election machinery. As a rule it is these very Parties which claim to be most anxious that C.M.G. and Democracy must be saved. Don't stand arguing which is the proper way to throw the lifebelt, lads. Chuck it in and push the boat out!

RECENT AGENCY APPOINTMENTS.

LINCOLN: Mr. W. CHAPPELL (late of Colchester). Address: 2, Flaxengate, Lincoln.

PECKHAM: Mr. T. T. POTTS, 139, Peckham High Street, London, S.E.15.

SOUTH OXFORDSHIRE: Mr. S. ARTHEN SMITH, 117, Oxford Road, Cowley, Oxford.

FAIRFIELD (Liverpool): Mr. J. K. ARNOLD, 14, Lilly Road, Fairfield, Liverpool, 7.



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The FACTS of YOUTH

We were discussing why young people prefer a picture palace to party meetings.

As we talked we passed one of the latest super cinemas, and we went inside to see. Well, what struck us? Why were all these young people there? We sat in the foyer and discussed this question further, and these were our conclusions:

First there are LIGHTS. Young people, we thought, like lights and movement. There it was, then, lights outside and inside. Light, light, light—all, of course, except where love is the theme. And there the lights were low.

Then COMFORT. Here that was, too. Carpets, soft seats, lounges and beauty. Why *should not* young people yearn for this? It was not to be found at home, it was here—a reflection on the political economy that gives sordid life to so many millions. Here was palace luxury for the millions, and no one to say nay.

CHANGE, of course. It was all change from work and from home. A new life; transportation to heaven. Who quarrels with that, when opportunity knocks and an open door says welcome?

CHEAPNESS. Yes, cheapness, but not of the sort with which they were so familiar. It wasn't tuck-shop cheapness—the cheapness of the cheap grocer, the multiple store, or the 3d. and 6d. Woollies. The show was cheap, the restaurant was reasonable, and it all seemed within the purchasing power of the poor. It was the West End brought to the people.

PROGRAMMES. Yes, these too were alluring. Here the work-a-day world was away back somewhere miles away. Here the facts of life, the facts of factory, of the daily grind, of home and discomfort were all absent. There was transportation of the mind to fresh scenes, fresh adventures. And there was humour, love and music. So they fell for it.

Well, all these things constitute facts of life for Labour propagandists and Labour organisers. Can we compete?

At first sight, no. But let us take a view of a Labour office.

Here we are. No lights outside, up to the top of the stairs. And a frousty if friendly old frump, or a frousty if friendly old man, to welcome us. Youth turns away.

A Labour meeting. Not many coming in; not much light outside, if indeed there is some for the soul inside. No comfort. I wish I could say no waiting, but presently some speeches.

Inspiration? Yes, of a sort. The facts of life, a story of sadness, the problem or the problems of the whole human race. Some problems very far away. For young people mostly depression to be cured only by hard work in a political machine. And contentment through contention.

How do we fare in this competition? Not too well.

And what is the remedy? Can we brighten our offices, and brighten our people? Can we brighten our meetings? Can we still the doleful tale and give Youth a better view of ourselves—a brighter vision for days of happiness, and hold out to them joy and company, and joy in the work?

If Labour is to compete, it must face up to these problems. It must modernise its men, its methods, its appeal, its whole manner of approach.

Lights, brightness, welcomes, comforts, even cheapness, all are obtainable with success, but success will not come until we give that which the young people yearn for.

And we have told you what it is.

B.M.—Copyright is now for the life of the author and 50 years after, except that after 25 years from the death of the author (30 years for pre-1911 copyrights) reproduction may be made by fulfilling certain formalities and payment of 10 per cent. royalties to the copyright owners. It will be seen that reproduction of the work of certain deceased (and some living) Socialist pioneers is not without difficulties. We are afraid your enterprise would prove a costly one: and, who knows, perhaps the person has changed? Anyway, don't reproduce, even a chapter, without authority—which we don't think will be given.

LITERATURE

BY
MAURICE
HACKETT

NEW RECORDS

The sale of Labour Party pamphlets and booklets created a new record for the twelve months ending September 30th. Over one million six hundred thousand were sold. Posters also broke a record with sales of over 50,000. The municipal issue of "Your Britain" was sold out a week before polling day, and orders had to be refused. Six new Party pamphlets have been issued during October and are selling well.

Our next effort is to make arrangements for Ward groups to play their part in propaganda work by pamphlet.

It is estimated that there are about 7,000 Ward groups in the Movement and very few of them take regular supplies of new pamphlets.

We urge that every Ward Secretary shall be registered at Head Office under our 5/- Annual Literature Subscription. This means that he or she will receive a copy of every new pamphlet, leaflet and poster as soon as it is issued.

There is hardly a Ward in the country which cannot sell 12 copies of a new 1d. pamphlet. It is not unreasonable to ask that each Ward should place a standing order for this number. It would mean a sale of over 70,000 copies of any pamphlet we issued.

Receipt of literature information by Ward Secretaries will help to make Ward meetings more interesting, will obviate the time taken referring matters on literature to and from Divisional Executives, and keep 7,000 more local officials up to date in their knowledge of Party Policy.

An additional reason is that a great many Ward meetings are used by individual members for the sale of unofficial literature, and the least that a loyal Ward Secretary can do is to make certain that his own Party literature is on sale.

Our Party's individual membership is the largest in the world outside dictatorship countries. If it is informed and up to date on Party Policy it becomes a tremendous weapon of propaganda in the social, family and working circle of each member.

The members can be reached in over 300 divisions **only through the Ward groups.**

Ward Secretaries should be registered for samples of literature for 5/- per year, and the service starts from the date that amount is paid.

Each Ward should give a standing order for 6, 12 or more pamphlets, either direct to Head Office or to the Divisional Secretary.

Pamphlets should be on sale at each Ward meeting, and collectors can in some instances be persuaded to take pamphlets round to members' homes.

A literature steward, elected for the Ward, can take this extra work on and keep contact with the Divisional Secretary or Literature Secretary.

If the members are informed and interested by means of Party pamphlets, it means more workers in the Ward, bigger attendances at Ward meetings and better propaganda.

Literature opens up a great new field of propaganda work for Ward Associations. Discuss it at your next meeting.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR COLLEGES

Mr. A. Woodburn, Scottish Secretary of the Labour Party, has been elected President of the National Council of Labour Colleges. Mr. Woodburn has been keenly interested in Labour educational work for many years and has tutored some of the most successful classes that the N.C.L.C. has run in Scotland. He gave evidence on behalf of the N.C.L.C. to the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry. Mr. J. Martin, a very prominent member of the N.U.R., has been elected Vice-President. The N.U.R. is the largest organisation, having an educational scheme with the N.C.L.C., which scheme involves over £4,000 a year. This scheme provides for the whole of the N.U.R. members free access to N.C.L.C. classes and day and week-end schools and free postal courses.

LABOUR PARTY DIRECTORY OF DIVISIONAL SECRETARIES

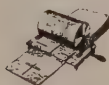
MONTHLY LIST OF CORRECTIONS

Index Descrip-

No.	tion	Name of Organisation	Present Secretary and Address
D1	CD	Bedford D.L.P.	Mr. G. W. WRAY, 41, Dents Road, Bedford.
B34	CD	Whitehaven D.L.P.	Mr. M. UPPERDINE, The Labour Hall, 4, Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
F57	CD	North Dorset D.L.P.	Mrs. C. SIMMS, The Second House, Sheeplands Lane, Sherborne, Dorset.
D139	CD	Gravesend D.L.P.	Mr. P. G. MORTIMER, 47, Norfolk Road, Gravesend, Kent.
B171	BD	Hulme D.L.P.	Miss A. L. ALTON, 12, Wellington Street, Moss Side, Manchester, 16.
G214	SB	Lincoln T.C. & L.P.	Mr. W. CHAPPELL, 2, Flaxengate, Lincoln.
E244	SB	Hampstead D.L.P.	Mrs. E. MAUGER, 81, South Hill Park, London, N.W.3.
G306	CD	Norfolk S.W.	Mr. J. H. B. KIDDELL, Fair View, Bridge Road, Downham Market, Norfolk.
A313	BD	Newcastle Central D.L.P.	Mr. H. SHEPHERD, Labour Rooms, 86, Scotswood Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
C353	SB	West Bromwich T. & L.C.	Mr. L. A. USHER, Springfield House, Sandwell Road, West Bromwich, Staffs.
C394	BD	Erdington D.L.P.	Mr. J. BOND, 60, Deakin Road, Erdington, Birmingham.
A427/30	DB	Hull City Labour Party	Mr. R. E. TENNYSON, 73, Hopkins Street, Portobello Street, Hull.
A462	CD	Keighley D.L.P.	Mr. J. FRANKLAND, Labour Rooms, Church Street Keighley, Yorks.
H501	CD	Merioneth D.L.P.	Mr. RHYS JONES, 4, Bron-Y-Gors, Rhiw, Blaenau Festiniog, Merioneth.
J515	CD	Argyllshire D.L.P.	Mr. C. R. WASON, A/Y Hydrophila, Sandbank, Argyll.
J518	CD	Kilmarnock Div. T. & L.C.	Mr. T. HANNAN, 6, Bentinck Street, Kilmarnock.
J530	DMB	Dundee T. & L.C.	Mr. F. N. DAVIE, Labour Halls, 48, Wellgate, Dundee.

CORRECTIONS TO 1937 REPORT ALREADY PUBLISHED IN OUR COLUMNS

1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 22, 26, 29, 33, 34, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 53, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 70, 76, 80/81, 87, 89, 106, 113, 116, 118, 124, 126, 127, 129, 131, 135, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 152, 155, 158, 159, 160, 162, 166, 167, 171, 174, 175, 178, 184, 185, 187, 197, 205, 207, 213, 222/3, 224/5, 231, 232, 235, 236, 236/7, 239/41, 242, 242/3, 243, 245, 246, 249, 258, 258'9, 259, 262, 263, 263/5, 265, 267, 267/9, 268, 274, 274/8, 277, 278, 280, 283, 285, 290, 293, 294, 297, 299, 300, 303, 305, 306, 307, 312, 313, 322, 325, 331, 333, 335, 340, 346, 350, 352, 368, 372, 375, 378, 380, 383, 388, 389, 390, 392, 394, 396, 398, 403, 404, 413, 420, 420/3, 422, 423, 426, 427/30, 428, 432, 437/8, 440, 445, 446, 450, 470, 471, 476, 477, 480, 481, 482, 484, 485, 486, 487, 511, 518, 530, 538, 540, 551, 553, 566, 570, 575.



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The Wrong Way to Use Cars

The following experiences of a valuable worker in an important constituency which has no Municipal Elections gives room for thought. Enough that willing helpers find their assistance often treated so cheaply, and that our folk often fail to realise the sacrifice made by car owners: but what is to be said of this continued inefficiency in the conduct of so many Labour election campaigns? We make bold to say that our correspondent's experience is widespread; we have met the same thing all too often. Really, Labour election agents should learn how to use the cars lent them or not to call so freely upon their owners. We can recite a case where one owner travelled 100 miles to help, was sent on a fruitless ten-mile tour, and after a day spent in motoring, had polled *no votes* by 5 p.m. And this was a bye-election!

"In common with others, who like myself reside in a rural constituency, I filled the petrol tank to capacity at the nearest pump and headed for the nearest town. Several weeks beforehand I had made a definite promise 'to run my car' on polling day. I was referred to a specific committee room, where I duly reported in the early afternoon and intimated my willingness to work wholeheartedly to their instructions.

"After a wait of half-an-hour two 'helpers' joined me and directed me to a particular area. Here the 'helpers' alighted and began knocking at doors.

"They traversed two streets with myself ever keeping an eye on them, and then returned to me. 'It's no use just now,' was the greeting I received, 'we had better return to the committee room. Everybody is busy preparing tea.'

"To the committee room we returned, where I spent the next half-hour watching the happenings there.

"Ultimately word was given that a car was required at No. —, Such-and-Such Street, at 6 p.m. to convey an indefinite number of voters to poll. Accompanied by a 'pilot' off we go.

"Arriving slightly ahead of time we are informed that the persons concerned voted earlier in the day. My guide, showing some anxiety, then directed

me to another street, where both of us enquired of every householder the possibility of giving them a ride to the polling station.

"We have been,' said some. Others were going within the next few minutes and scorned the idea of a ride, the polling station being less than half a mile distant.

"To the outer edge of the electoral area we then proceeded, and began combing again. Here at last we found persons who required persuading to record their vote. And so at about 6.40 p.m. our first complement of voters left for the polling station.

"Upon reaching the polling station with the second load, I received an enquiry from the committee room as to from whence such voters came. When I returned to the precise street with the one would-be voter who had been informed by the presiding officer that she was not recorded on the appropriate Register (the others having elected to go on to the 'pictures'), another car was then assisting. We completed this particular street and then another within the next half-hour, when the summons came to proceed to another polling district.

"From there we were directed to an area some distance away and the combing began again. Eventually two voters were found and conveyed. Upon return no further voters were available, and it was precisely three minutes before closing of the poll.

"I was away from home for six hours and conveyed eighteen voters, including the one who had no vote.

"What was wrong? At the committee room the canvass records were being used for table cards. Table or wall sheets were posted up, but had not been marked up. In consequence the canvass cards were not available for use in connection with the combing process. Workers were few, only three belonging to the affected electoral area. No assistance rendered by existing Councillors or Aldermen. One or two helpers from other parts of the town and an equal number from other rural constituencies. No system. Copies of 'Your Britain' No. 4 undistributed.

"I purchased the local paper the next morning to learn of the results for that town. These showed that in almost every case the 'Labour candidate' had polled approximately two-thirds of the votes secured by the 'Independent.' I was not in the least surprised."

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PHILOSOPHY

TACT

DISCRETION

WISDOM

The CONSULTANT

PRUDENCE

VISION

TOLERANCE

AFFECTION

FROM THE OLD ARMCHAIR,
THE EDITOR'S OFFICE.

More patients. Well, so far as I can prescribe, every patient shall get some physic!

Two or three correspondents have written lately concerning a problem in their constituencies, not confined to County Divisions, but most commonly met with there. In one respect the problem features the penalty of success, but any Division in experiencing it merely proves that the organising methods suitable for one stage of development must now be changed to suit a more adult growth. When I became a man, said Paul, I put away childish things. And so with Parties. Our little garments go as we grow older. We also act, I hope, differently.

The Patient Tells

Here is one reader's letter that puts the problem in a large-sized nutshell. "Time was when I could organise a Divisional Bazaar or even a big draw or a summer gala and rely on raising £70 to £90 for Divisional funds. We got in touch with twos and threes in all the towns and villages in this Division, and set up local committees. But all these organisations began to get hungry themselves. Some of them began to organise whist drives and draws and even bazaars and they dropped out of our efforts, claiming that they could sell more for themselves than for us. Now several of these places have rented rooms, some even have hutments and clubs, and we at the centre get poorer and poorer. It is not that they don't realise the needs of the Division, but they think the local needs come first. The result is presently there will be no Divisional work done at all, and that means lack of co-ordination, loss to parliamentary election funds, and small hope to win the

seat. Surely we should act as one Division, not as so many parish pumps."

Tut-tut! So many parish pumps indeed! Heaven be praised when Labour presides at the parish pump!

The Doctor Diagnoses

And let me see. Have I not met these symptoms before? Almost they remind me of something very familiar in life. The little ones come, one by one (or in twos or threes, as you like it) and we shower our affections upon them. The infants grow, and we admire the process. Bigger they grow and still we continue to admire and forget an evil but inevitable day drawing nearer. Now the child is there no longer. The break comes. There is an empty place at home. Another nest is built. There are new interests, new outlooks, probably new infants and the process all over again. Alas, it is sad; but do the new colonists *always* forget the old folk at home?

Here comes the difference in families. The other day two boys of nineteen and fourteen respectively were tried for cracking their mother's head with a bar of iron and scalding her with boiling water. Remembering the old folk at home, eh? But is this the common run of things and isn't the ideal we uphold that of the dear old folk supported and surrounded in their old age by their lusty offspring even unto the third and fourth generation? [I hope so.—H.D.]

Yes, my friend will answer like a shot—it's their proper duty. And there I've got him — him and his parish pumps! Talk to the modern child—to 1938—of Duty and it won't wash. The reply will be mostly "That's all right, old bean. Bit pre-war though—duty. Duty went when they called you up and you didn't go. Have a nut, dad?"

You see, "duty" is a non-diplomatic phrase. Applied to others, it has a mighty self-righteous twang about it. Duty, like charity, begins at home. And in *real* life, when the kiddies play happily about one's knees and one bends at night o'er each fair sleeping brow (excuse the lapse from prose; it's Mrs. Hemans' phrase, not mine) the grown-up kiddies do *not* do as that lady's little dreamers did. Instead they come home to roost.

But note the difference. I'll wager those lusty young committees at the divers parish pumps have not been getting a good time round the parental knee. Nor does it appear from our correspondent's letter and passages that have not been quoted that the facts of life (*i.e.*, the needs of Party) have been prudently put before them. The first prescription therefore that I make is that the parent body gets its eyes seen to so that the young offspring may be seen in true perspective as the natural and desirable outcome of the propagation of our principles.

But that isn't all the cure. That's simply "reducing" the patient. And we understand each other so well now that we can drop this professional talk and become commonplace again.

Well, there is a grievance, even if my friend has gone about it the right way to lose sympathy. Those new local committees must be shown the needs of party organisation and they must face up to the bigger aspects of Labour development. But are not many of us parochial and imitative of our friends in our attitude to national Party affairs?

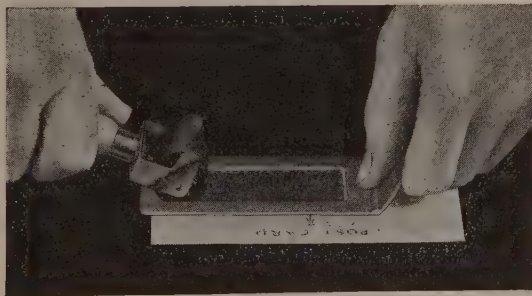
New Parties and young committees *will* start business on their own. It is a mistake for any D.L.P. to try competition. Indeed, when local development has reached the stage mentioned by our correspondent the D.L.P. ought to be able to abandon distracting money-raising adventures and concentrate upon its proper work of organisation and co-ordination.

But whence will come the cash for same? Well, the only source and the

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FROM

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Clerkenwell 4533

right source is the quota system for supplying D.L.P. requirements. Let our friends call a conference, taking a few pains to secure representation from each local area, and then place a budget before the Party. That Budget should over-estimate rather than under-estimate. And a just and equitable quota should be worked out beforehand which, by a levy all round, will *more* than cover estimated expenditure.

Ah, says somebody, to finish up like that, it isn't medicine at all; it won't work. Which reminds me of a colourless 4oz. bottle I once had and nearly threw away in disgust, till the cork flew off, and trying some of the stuff I found more pep and power than I had thought conceivable. The quota is in fact a natural and highly-desirable source of Divisional funds far preferable to spasmodic gambles in competition with local units. Almost always it gives the local Parties an object and an impetus.

But two dangers. Don't under-estimate; for quotas are not *always* exceeded. And don't force any quota scheme on unwilling Parties or pass any proportion that isn't accepted. Skilful preparation is sometimes necessary to any scheme. Parties may require visitation, officials may require taking into confidence; above all, the needs of the Division must be well put. I have rarely found all-round unwillingness to accept a quota and *never* any inclination to leave the D.L.P. to its fate.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new, and as our Parties develop these adjustments to circumstance will ever arise. But they call for understanding — and for an exercise by everyone of all those attributes found printed in our heading as a guide and reminder to your faithful servant,

THE CONSULTANT.

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EASY TERMS

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

We have received one or two further letters on this question, but we regret that pressure on our space forbids their publication.

In this matter we have stated the Party's policy and our own view which coincides with it. We are always ready to give space to those who differ from us, but the question of proportional representation is not solely an organisational one, and a general discussion on the merits of this proposal is more fit for journals which deal with Party policy.

This paper does not as a rule discuss matters of policy, and we have touched on the question of proportional representation only incidentally, as it would seem to affect the readers of this paper in their capacity as Party workers.

We assure our readers whose letters do not appear that that fact is not because they differ from us.

A CHEAP NOTICE BOARD.

On the opposite page we show one of the Labour Party's notice boards, together with the use to which it is put.

Does not the blank board also suggest the many vacant places we have about us, ready to be filled with bright telling posters—supplied quite cheaply by Headquarters?

Blank spaces and spaces that can be turned to good use by the purchase (or making) of a notice board, abound. They can be turned into speaking robots that he who runs may read.

The Labour Party supplies a board for 3/- only, carriage paid. For a five pound note a constituency can be made to fairly shout Labour's message with 50 boards—and the cost of posting on the Party's own boards is negligible.

—The Party also supply a portable literature stand and notice board—an enduring piece of outdoor furnishing, at a cost of 10/6 only.

Many Labour men and women, and some of them D.L.P. officers, do not appear to be aware of these facilities. Both are worth pushing at Party meetings so that purchases can be made.



when covered it becomes cheap propaganda for
Party policy

BUT

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See opposite page

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Thank YOU, Sir !

From Harrow :

The "Labour Organiser" is indeed a great help to us . . . it helps us to plan on a more successful basis all our efforts.

From Exeter :

I've been a regular subscriber to the "L.O." for over ten years and can honestly say it has been of great value to me.

From Porchester :

The article on New Estates and Owner Occupiers was read at our last General Meeting and was found to be very applicable. I was instructed to congratulate you upon the article.

From Stowmarket :

I am a reader of the "Labour Organiser" and find it very helpful in my work.

cator from one of our advertisers and see!

The News is well-written and is well off for advertisers, so here's to its long life in its new form and greater power to its influence. Five thousand copies a month are to be delivered free.

M.P.'s GOOD IDEA How David Quibell Reaches His Constituents

David Quibell, Labour M.P. for the Brigg Division of Lincolnshire, represents a wide constituency with many villages and only one town of any size, the Borough of Scunthorpe. The maintenance of contacts with his constituents is an ever-present problem to David and his D.L.P., but he has gone a long way towards its solution by the publication of a very handsome booklet which has been delivered to all electors.

Its attractive green cover is excellently designed with a line block of the Houses of Parliament from Westminster Bridge, and the letterpress, in dignified Gill Sans type, reads: — Speeches in Parliament. By David Quibell, M.P., Brigg Division, Lincolnshire. There are 50 pages recording his speeches on a wide variety of subjects, each speech headed with the subject, the name of the Bill, and the date it was spoken. For instance:—

Humber Bridge
Trunk Roads Bill,
November 19th, 1936.

The speeches are reprinted from "Hansard" without comment, but Mr. Quibell writes an admirable Foreword in friendly strain, signed with a facsimile signature block.

There is also a useful index of subjects, Bills and dates. The booklet is crown 8vo. in size and printed on super-calendered paper with stiffer green cover. Its production was not a cheap matter, but was well worth the special effort. We congratulate Mr. Quibell not only on his excellent idea, but also for the dignity and effectiveness of the finished production.

FROM DUPLICATED SHEET TO PRINT.

Hearty congratulations to our friends of the East Norfolk Labour News, formerly a duplicated sheet, but last month starting publication as a 12 pp. and cover printed quarto magazine. Says the Editor joyfully: "No longer need the Editor cut stencils, or the organiser cover himself in ink each month turning the handle of the duplicator." Well the jollification is justified though by way of encouraging others to similarly begin, we would remark that duplicating can be and ought to be a clean job. Buy a dupli-

(Continued in previous column)

WISE WHEEZE FROM WALTHAMSTOW

Jack Cutter sends us an interesting document which is circulated every month to its members by that alert and businesslike organisation, the East Walthamstow Divisional Labour Party.

This monthly programme of the Party's chief activities is an admirable idea, resulting in well-sustained interest and good attendances at meetings.

EAST WALTHAMSTOW

Owing to the Municipal Elections Campaign that has been organised during the last three weeks throughout the Division, it has not been possible to make definite arrangements for speakers at all the meetings. Also for the same reason this notice will be delivered to you later than usual.

HALE END WARD

HOE STREET WARD

WOOD STREET WARD

GENERAL ELECTION

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

HALE END AND HOE STREET WOMEN'S SECTION

WOOD STREET WARD WOMEN'S SECTION

NOITCEL ELARENEG EHTRO FYDAERUOYER A

DECEMBER 16th

SPANISH AID COMMITTEE

NOVEMBER NEWS

LABOUR PARTY

Note the objective preparations for the next election worked in as part of ordinary ward business, together with the cryptic hint, which the discerning reader will speedily decipher, that more is to be done in this important department. We are glad to reprint the Nov. "issue," which in its original form is duplicated on a foolscap sheet.

Next meeting—Friday, 4th November, at 8 p.m.
Memorial Hall, Winchester Road, E.4.
Secretary—Mr. B. J. C. Browning, 169, Hale End Rd., E.17.

Next meeting—Friday, 11th November, at 8 p.m.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, E.17.
Secretary—Mr. F. G. Shell, 141, Sturge Avenue, E.17.

Next meeting—Friday, 4th November, at 8 p.m.
Shernhall Institute, Oliver Road, E.17.
Secretary—Mr. G. W. Metson, 110, Sturge Avenue, E.17.

Comrade E. M. Williams will be at the Wood Street and Hoe Street Ward Meetings to speak for a short while on "Organisation for the next General Election."

The November meetings will be the last opportunity you will have for sending Resolutions to the Division, for consideration at the Annual Conference in February, 1939.

Meetings every Thursday afternoon at 2.30 p.m.
342, Hoe Street (first floor), close to Queen's Road.
Secretary—Mrs. E. Eve, 9, Elmsdale Road, E.17.
All women members are invited to these meetings.
Regular reports and speakers on varying subjects.

Meetings every Thursday afternoon at 2.30 p.m.
Shernhall Institute, Oliver Road, E.17.
Secretary—Mrs. L. D. Thomason, 25, Evelyn Road, E.17.
3rd—Concert Party. Trades Hall, 2.30 p.m.
10th—Nurse B. Smith. Talk on Local Almshouses.
17th—Discussion on present Section Standing Orders.
24th—Speaker to be arranged.
15th—Committee Meeting—25, Evelyn Road.
22nd—Whist Drive, 2.15 p.m., 145, Shernhall Street.
8th—Jumble Sale (if possible). Please support with gifts, etc.

Is this Welsh? Has the typist gone mad? It is a very important message to every member in the East Division. Read your DECEMBER NEWS immediately you receive it—then you will know.

This is the date of the Bazaar at the Baths Hall. Support it—the Party needs your help. Wood Street members should specially note they are running a FRUIT stall—so you know where to buy your Christmas requirements.

Why not attend their meeting on Friday, 2nd December, at Lloyd Park Pavilion? Two interesting plays:—Señora Carrar's "Rifles" and "Living Newspaper." Both produced on the high standard of UNITY THEATRE.

WAYS TO VICTORY FOR LABOUR

I am prepared to help by (place a tick opposite the activities in which you are willing to help) :—

PROPAGANDA.

- (1) Making a point of being present at open-air meetings (A nucleus is necessary for success)
- (2) Distributing literature to advertise meetings.....
- (3) Selling literature at meetings.....
- (4) Acting as steward at meetings.....
- (5) Acting as chairman.....
- (6) Acting as speaker.....

EDUCATION.

- (1) Attending a class on electioneering.....
- (2) Attending a Labour Speakers' Class (including chairmanship).....
- (3) Attending classes on subjects necessary for public speaking.....

ORGANISATION.

- (1) Regular attendance at meetings.....
- (2) Approaching and recruiting new members.....
- (3) By accepting responsibility for the following work—
 - Registration Secretary
 - Canvass Secretary.....
 - Membership Secretary.....
 - Meetings Organiser
 - Propaganda Secretary
 - Publicity—
 - Press Reports
 - Press Correspondence
 - Poster Work
 - Street Chalking.....
 - Platform Convener
 - Stewards Convener
 - Collection Convener.....
 - Literature Secretary.....
 - Chairman
 - Treasurer
 - Minute Secretary
 - Secretary
- (4) Election Work—
 - Addressing envelopes
 - Filling envelopes and folding material
 - Canvassing.....
 - "Runner" or messenger between rooms
 - Polling agent on election day
 - Clerk
 - Shorthand typist

Name..... Date.....
 Address

Trade Union, if any.....

The above form was issued by the Scottish Council (The Labour Party).
 It is worth copying.